WORKERS of the WORLD UNITE

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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MRS JUNIOR: "Well Dad, they got yer fer the Boer War; are yer goin ter be as big a fool this time?"

THE SOLDIERS CREED.

Captain, what do you think," I asked,
"Of the part your soldiers play?"
But the Captain answered, I do not think.
"I do not think, I obey."

Do you think you should shoot a patriot down,
"Or help a tyrant slay?"
But the Captain answered, I do not think;
"I do not think, I obey!"

Do you think your conscience was made to die,
And your brain to rot away?
But the Captain answered, "I do not think;
"I do not think, I obey."

"Then if this is your soldier's creed," I cried,
"You're a mean unmanly crew;
And for all your feathers and gilt and braid,
"I am more of a man than you

"For whatever my place in life may be,
And whether I swim or sink,
"I can say with pride, I do not obey;
"I do not obey, I THINK!"

The Passing Show.

Mugs, like moths, are ever caught by glare, and Mammon wins his way where seraphs might despair.

Mammon and Militarism are now triumphant in Europe.

"A Madman's Holiday" will probably be the future historian's description of 1914.

How do you like the peace that Capitalism has been arming to preserve?

Capitalism without exploitation and war is unthinkable. Production for profit leads directly to war.

The Cooks and Fishers rule so beautifully that now that the war is on, and the people want to produce food for themselves, they cannot do so.

Billy Hughes's description of Joe Cook as a political leader in the late Parliament recalls Byron's lines: "There was a laughing devil in his sneer, that raised emotions both of rage and fear; and where his frown of hatred darkly fell, hope withering fled, and mercy sighed farewell."

European governments are spending money like water on slaughtering, and patriots are raising funds to minimise the evil results. When the governments are condemned for what they are doing the patriots are shocked and rave against disloyalty.

"Early to bed and early to rise makes your boss healthy, wealthy, and wise."—"Cotton's Weekly."

Lord Gladstone, late Governor-General of South Africa, was hooted on his arrival in London for his part in the Johannesburg massacre. He got off lightly—he might have been stoned.

"So soon as the trusts begin to hurt the people the Liberal Government will intervene."—Joe Cook. Most likely to hold the people down while they are being hurt.

Ye gentlemen of England, that live at home at ease; whose flag has braved a thousand years, the bottle and the wheeze.

The Government of New Zealand has decided to release Harry Holland and others who were sentenced in connection with last year's strike troubles. Now that the war is on, and the plute requires the assistance of William Mug, his heart softens towards that worthy's leaders—for the time being.

"If Great Britain were to go down in the struggle, this country of ours would belong to us no more."—Sydney "Daily Telegraph." "Us," of course, means the big landlords and financiers who work in coal pits, in the factories, and on the wharves.

The present war in Europe, horrible as it is, is but an incident in the great struggle for working-class emancipation—a struggle which has lasted for many centuries, and which yet continues. A hard contest it has been; a war waged longer, with battles more disastrous, with seiges more persistent, with strategy more shrewd than in any of the comparatively transient wars of Caesar, Napoleon, or Moltke.

"Let us make an appeal to the employers of labor not to seize the opportunity by putting it to their own benefit to make an undue profit at the expense of the community."—Wade, M.L.A. The employers will be stone deaf to any such appeal. The profiteer never misses an opportunity.

"Our business is to settle our wide acres."—"S.M. Herald." To settle them at the monopolist's price, of course.

"Prices must be fixed."—"The Australian Worker." They are being fixed. All the shopkeepers in the Labor Party are attending to that.

How about that steady job of yours? It was not so sure under Capitalism after all. It will never be a steady job while Capitalism lasts. Don't delude yourself that it will.

The little grocer and the small employer who lately turned to the Labor Party in the hope that it would do something to curtail the big fellow, are now going to the wall in thousands. Their position under Capitalism is no more secure than that of the wage-workers.

Competition and industrial war kill off the small men gradually, but war puts them to sudden death in thousands.

Only the largest combines and trusts will be able to survive the present war if it lasts more than a month or two. This fact alone should make the workers suspect that the war has been engineered by the big interests.

The press of Sydney unblushingly admits that all the news from Europe is censored, meanwhile, it publishes it as gospel truth.

The big pastoralists of N.S.W. are promising shipments of beef and mutton to the Imperial authorities to aid in the war, and the plutes are also handing out large donations of cash. The local mug is quite overlooked, despite the fact that he is losing his job through the war. He even overlooks himself and raves against the Germans.

It is surprising how many boneheads there are in Australia who long to get the chance of being stopped by bullets, piled in heaps of fifty, and burnt on a battlefield. There is no accounting for tastes.

Sydney Y.M.C.A. celebrated its diamond jubilee last week at the Town Hall. The speeches were full of the holy spirit of patriotic jingoism, and the feeling against pious Christian Bill of Germany was boshter.

"With Germans, as individuals we have no quarrel. The war is against the aggressive policy of the military caste, by which the people are over-ridden."—Sydney "Daily Telegraph." Of course, all the warmongering militarists are located in Germany. There are none in the British Empire, nor in France or Russia. O dear no!

"The news the public here receives about the war has to be viewed in the light of the fact that it all comes from one side. And the censorship only allows such items to come through as the officials in charge of the cables think fit."—Sydney "D.T." And the officials, being warmongers, and militarists, they of course, send nothing but the absolute truth.

"News has been anxiously sought, and apparently as sedulously manufactured to meet the demand, but still we are waiting to hear that the crash has come."—"S.M. Herald." And the press publishes "the latest authentic cables" for Mug's consumption.

Thank goodness the Prince of Wales and his brother are going to the war. The Germans will soon be settled and the British Empire saved. If only the Kaiser, the Czar, and a few other leading parasites could be induced to go to the front peace would no doubt soon be fixed up.

Papers to hand by the last English mail state that numbers of ladies in evening dress were present at the last big fight in London. The news suggests that there may be curious developments under capitalism in the near future. Fighting will be so popular that no king will be allowed to ascend a throne unless he is a champion pug, and no man will dare to propose to a lady unless he has knocked his rivals out with his fists.

H. E. Boote ("Australian Worker," 13/8/14) made an urgent appeal for a Government upon which Australia can absolutely rely during the present crisis. The Labor Party, according to Mr. Boote, is the only party that can furnish such a Government, the Cook party being the creatures of the trusts, which are taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the war to raise prices. But, unfortunately for Mr. Boote's appeal, the Labor Party is notoriously militarist, and militarism is the breath of life of the trusts and the bogus Liberal Party. Owing to the speeches of Fisher, Hughes and Pearce, and the writings of H. E. Boote and other Laborite advocates of the citizen army on conscript lines, the rank and file in the P.L. Leagues have been so indoctrinated with the Tory enemies' vice of militarism that all they can be expected to do now is to whoop for the war and the glory of the Empire. Cook knows this, and also how to exploit the war-frenzy which Boote's party has helped to foment, so he expects a thumping majority in September.

Fond of a land that gives him nought but strife, Mug scorns the path that leads to liberty. Foiled by his foe in the industrial strife, war! war! is now his cry; war even to the knife.

The London "Daily Citizen" reports that a German refugee, who escaped via Denmark, states that Dr. Liebknecht, the famous Socialist member of the Reichstag, was shot in Berlin. Dr. Liebknecht refused to serve as a reserve officer, and was arrested. He was court-martialled and shot by a platoon of infantry. He also states that Rosa Luxemburg, who recently took the cases of young soldiers who were maltreated in the army into the law courts, was also shot.

The military, he added, were breaking up all anti-war meetings, and firing on the demonstrators.

Berlin, when the refugee left, was practically in a state of revolution.

The assassination of our Comrades by the German military authorities will intensify the world-wide hatred in which they are held, while the sympathies of Socialists in every country will be with the German Socialist Party in its great loss, and also with all European comrades who are compelled to join in the murder business the exploiters have started.

The booh who used to rush out at the first blast of "Rool Britannia" and shoulder a gun and get filled with bullets is not so patriotic as he used to be. The Boer War enlightened him a good deal, and Socialist propaganda has damped some of his ardor. By the time the present war is ended, he will be looking for the Secretary of the nearest Socialist local to enrol in the army that is going to stop war.

Capitalism in Europe had become desperate before the present war. Two horns of a dilemma were presented to the rulers of each nation. They could either keep the masses ignorant and thereby servile and lose first place in the industrial rivalry of nations; or educate them for efficiency, and go to the front in international competition, but at the cost of letting the proletarial know its potential strength. Either course meant ruin to European capitalism, the only third alternative being war—which also means ruin—at once to the small capitalists, and in the long run to the big ones.

The fishing season for the politicians is now open, and the old bait is being freely offered to the mugs. The latter are biting well, but not quite so well as formerly. They sniff at the bait a good deal before they take it as though they thought it is getting a bit putrid.

A Newtown (Sydney) worker, whose munificent wage had dropped to 25s. a week since the war started, tested his landlord's patriotism last rent day, when 15s. was due. He offered 7s. 6d. and explained his position, whereupon the owner of his roost immediately served a "notice to quit" on him. The class this patriot belongs to is full of martial ardor just now, and in the language of Andy Fisher, is "behind the Empire to the last man and the last shilling"—of the working class.

On Tuesday, a collection of nondescripts was despatched from Sydney to take part in the war. There was a fair amount of Maffic, but not nearly so much as there was when troops were despatched to the Boer war. Many war songs were sung by those who departed on Tuesday, but the one sung by a Mosman contingent seemed to be most in favor. It will no doubt surprise the Kaiser and other enemies when they hear it. We won't be surprised to learn that the German army has either scooted, committed suicide, or gone mad after hearing a few bars of it. It so excited one man in Tuesday's crowd of onlookers that he declared war on all poets, and issued an ultimatum to them to keep out of his reach in future. A favorite verse of the song was:

"One, two, three—Mosman boys are we;
Four, five, six—the Kaisers in a fix;
Seven, eight, nine—we're feeling fit and fine;
We'll have a hot time in Berlin some night.

Gordelp the Kaiser. May the Lord have mercy on his soul when the Mosman boys sing to him.

Rockefeller, Jun., says he washes his hands of affairs in Colorado. They will take a lot of washing, and unless he is more than an ordinary murderer he will think of Lady Macbeth's words as he washes them.

"Out, damned spot! out I say! What, will these hands ne'er be clean?.....All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand."

N.S.W. Premier Holman says the industrial and financial outlook of the Commonwealth is most reassuring. What a comfort it will be to those who have lost their jobs to know this.

Piecrust promises are being showered on the workers to induce them to fight each other. The Czar promises the Poles political rights, and the Jews equal rights with other Russian wage slaves. Other European rulers are feeling equally generous, while our own Minister for Defence is profuse in his promises to look after the interests of those who leave widows and orphans behind them. Even Premier Holman is going to keep the jobs for those who go bullet-stopping. Many of the employers are promising to pay the wages of employees who go to the war, and give them good jobs on their escape and safe return. Very few of such promises will be kept, and in the meantime the patriotic landlord will call as usual for the rent and the patriotic shopkeeper will want spot cash.

Written for the "International Socialist" by W. R. Winspear, 115 Goulburn-St., Sydney.

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The swarm of cringers, doughfaces, lice of politics, planners of sly innovations for their own preferment.—Walt Whitman on Politicians.

Before the War.

Barbarous Russia.

In the struggle for freedom each country must work out its own salvation, but there is nevertheless an international feeling of solidarity between the lovers of freedom in all countries. And there is likewise a similar web of solidarity between those who look with aversion upon each step towards freedom.

The roots of this class antagonism strike deep into the economic foundations of society itself, and every struggle resolves itself into one for some material advantage for one class or the other. This being so, the despotic rulers of one country have always sympathised with and abetted the despotic rulers of a neighbouring country, and all have stood in opposition to those who were fighting for more freedom and better conditions.

This class war has in the past led to some peculiar international alliances, which have shown very clearly that the world at large can only progress as fast as the least civilized country advances.

During the last fifty years we have seen Britain supporting Turkey in Europe even while the rest of the civilized world rang with stories of that country's robbery and massacre of Armenian Christians. For forty years France, desiring to find an ally to support her against German Jackbootery, has financed Russia, and Russia has been the frightful example of Europe.

The Russian Government of repressive butchery has been the rock behind which the despotism of Europe has sheltered. It has been financed by the despots in the west, and but for this aid must have drifted into repudiation from sheer inability to finance its vast machinery of repression and murder.

Latterly the financial position of Russia has become known to British investors, who have been puzzled to understand how it was that the "democrat," Sir Edward Grey, was so anxious to fortify the secret agreements which he had entered into with Britain's ally. Russia's action in Persia was not forgotten, and certain passages in "Darkest Russia" had deepened the distrust of the Muscovite power. Said the writer of that work: "The pretence of a balance budget is only secured by book-keeping tricks which any honest accountant would refuse to endorse. For example, the State railways, for which, in particular, British capital is being solicited, are made to show a paper profit by the artless device of omitting from their accounts the payments of the interest on the loans by which they are supported."

Now we do not care much how British investors are fooled, but we are concerned with what the money goes to finance. And the money flowing into Russia from the West has been and is being used to bolster up the most diabolical scheme of oppression of modern times.

In 1909 the Parliamentary Russian Committee issued an appeal to the British nation on behalf of the oppressed subjects of the Czar. This Committee consisted of members of both Houses of the British Parliament, and had for its object the assistance of all Russians who were working for the social and political amelioration of the people of Russia.

The statement which the Committee issued in 1909 was written by Prince Kropotkin of whom it said: "Prince Kropotkin enjoys a unique reputation throughout Europe and America. A famous scientist, and writer of books, a man of high and rare integrity, who has suffered for his convictions, he has long been held in the highest esteem and enjoyed universal respect not least in this country which he has made his home for so many years."

The Commitee further said: "The statement is non-political and deals with the question from a purely humanitarian standpoint. The sources from which the information is drawn are indicated, the facts recorded being based on official reports, on extracts from Russian newspapers which are subject to a rigorous censorship, and on letters from correspondents whose testimony can be relied upon."

Turning to the Committee's statement we find a large amount of well-authenticated evidence of the deplorable conditions that prevail in Russia, and we see what the loans of France and Britain have been used to support. Further, we get some insight into the objects which British Liberalism has in view, which seem to bolster up tyranny and oppression abroad in order to check the general tide of progress.

In 1905 it was officially declared that the nation would henceforward have the right to express its wishes and to exercise legislative power through its representatives, and that the policy of the Government would be a Liberal policy. But after it had been solemnly declared that the political life of the country was to be reconstructed on new principles, and that, to use the very words of the Czar's Manifesto, "the population is to be given the inviolable foundation of civil rights, based on the actual inviolability of the person, and freedom of belief, of speech, of organisation, and meeting"—after that declaration had been solemnly promulgated, those who tried to realise these principles have been treated as rebels, guilty of high treason.

Not only were the representatives of the advanced parties prosecuted for what they said and did during 1906-1907, but even the most moderate party, the Octobrists, who took their stand on the Czar's October 1905 manifesto, were treated as preachers of treasonable doctrines. The only party which received the Czar's personal approval was the Union of Russian Men, a party which subsequently figured in the Law Courts as organisers of pogroms against the Jews and intellectuals, and whose President was indicted before the Criminal Court on the charge of instigating and paying for the murder of Herzenstein, a member of the first Duma, who was considered the best financial authority in matters concerning the peasantry. He was also charged with the murder of M. Yollos, another respected member of the same Duma, also an authority on matters affecting the peasantry.

The manifesto of the Czar, in the light of what happened immediately after, seems to have been merely a ruse to discover all who had leanings towards popular government, for a system of punishment and revenge was rapidly instituted against them. The Duma declared itself incapable of governing the country without maintaining a state of siege over large portions of it. Specially nominated Governors-General were appointed with almost dictatorial powers, including the right to put people to death without trial, and without even sending them before a Court Martial. The publishers of books, who thought the freedom of the press had really been granted, were prosecuted on the ground that they had committed breaches of the law and were condemned to one and two years in a fortress. Organisers of meetings and speakers, who expressed ideas absolutely lawful from a constitutional point of view, were prosecuted as revolutionists. Organisers of resistance against pogroms (Jew-baitings) were treated as revolutionists of the worst description, and an uninterrupted series of trials was directed against men of peaceful life for what had previously been quite constitutional. These prosecutions increased so fast that every liberal-minded man in Russia, no matter how moderate his opinions were, expected to be arraigned before military and other exceptional courts. Things were so bad that the press itself declared that the prosecutions could only be described as the revenge of bureaucracy for what was said against its misrule.

A prominent feature of the state of things then existing was the large number of prosecutions which were the direct result of agents provocateurs like the notorious Azeff. Much prominence was given to the Azeff affair, and it was undoubtedly remarkable that a man who had taken a leading part in organising the murder of Von Plehve, Minister of the Interior, in July, 1904, of the Grand Duke Sergius in 1905, and of General Bogdanovitch at Ufa, had organised these plots with the knowledge and partly with the money of the Russian secret police. But the Azeff scandals were only the most striking of many such that came to light at that time. Indeed, it was proved by Prince Ouroussoff in the first Duma that many agents provacateurs were organising pogroms against the Jews, the killing of intellectuals in Tomsk and Tver, the plots against the Governors of different provinces, and so-called "expropriations"—that is extorting money under threats of death. For these purposes the agents imported from abroad large quantities of the most inflammatory literature and also arms and explosives, and also organised the manufacture of bombs in Russia itself, sometimes with money granted by the head of the Police Department, as was revealed in the Lopukhin case.

The policy of M. Stolypin's Government was to wreak vengeance on all who took any part in the reform movement, and vast numbers were arrested and transported to Siberia or other parts of the Empire by simple administrative orders. The result was that the prisons of Russia were so overcrowded that they contained, according to official documents, 181,000 prisoners, although the utmost capacity for which they were designed was only 107,000. In several provinces arrests and imprisonments were so numerous that in many lock-ups and prisons the number of prisoners was three and four times as many as their holding capacity.

The consequences of this overcrowding were frightful. Sanitation was impossible, and typhus spread with alarming rapidity in the prisons of many provinces. In fact 65 provinces out of 100 were ravaged by this scourge.

In most of the overcrowded prisons the inmates had absolutely no beds or bedding; and in many not even the wooden planks along the walls which were used formerly. They slept on the floor with no covering or bedding but the old worn-out clothing, literally swarming with vermin, which was delivered to them by the prison authorities. Under such conditions sanitation was impossible. The sufferers from typhus and scurvy slept side by side with the rest, and it was only when a prisoner was in a dying condition that he was removed. Cases were known of typhoid patients being brought on stretchers before the Courts and sent back by the judges, and a man was hanged while suffering from typhus whose temperature was 104.

Brutality of the worst kind became quite habitual in all the great Russian prisons, and appalling facts were brought to light everywhere. Even men who were condemned to death were horribly beaten before being taken to the scaffold, and it is on record that in one of the Moscow Courts-Martial, a man, condemned to be hanged, begged the President of the Court to promise that he should not be beaten to death before execution. The promise in his case was kept, but as a rule the tortures inflicted on those condemned to death were so horrible that in many cases suicide was preferred to the tortures that preceded execution.

This vast system of torture, oppression, and repression naturally led to rebellion, and this in turn, led to worse and more abominable repression. The system involved a huge expenditure of money to maintain it, and it must long ago have broken down but for the financial assistance of France. It was not a Government that was organised in Russia, it was a huge murdering machine that was kept working by all the worst elements of Europe against those who were working for freedom. Throughout Russia, from the highest of its bureaucracy to the lowest of its agents in the villages, a spirit of hatred and cruel revenge was fostered against the slightest sign of a love of progress, and the result is the relations between the population and the ruling class have become impossible all over Russia.

Europe can only progress as fast as its most backward nation will allow it, and Russia, being the last fortress of European barbarism, is the key to the present situation. It is to Russia that the dealers in blood and iron look for support and for an excuse to perpetuate militarism and wholesale robbery and murder. And Russia is the natural ally of the oppressor, the warmonger and the autocrat. It did not suit Russia to have semi-enlightened or freedom-loving neighbors, and a rebellious population within receiving succour and encouragement from them, and at the first opportunity she picked her quarrel and at one stroke diverted attention from her internal horrors and gratified her hatred of her western neighbors.

In Germany, where education, science and industrial development have been so rapid, conditions are different, but even there the warmongers and feudal lords are still all-powerful, and were able to seize the opportunity afforded by Russia to enter upon a war that only has for its object the frustration of the aims and ideals of a militant democracy.

It was all very well for Bismarck to say while reforms could be tinkered with without lessening profits, but the point has been reached when the demands of the educated workers cannot be met without sacrifice by the plutocracy or at least threatening its supremacy. When that point is reached the aim becomes revolutionary.

In the present war the Czar, the Kaiser, and the effete Church which is the prop and stay, the warmongers and plutocrats, and all the rest of the rabid opponents of freedom are making their last stand, and the irony of it is that whichever way it ends the multitude will cry "Down with the Kaisers and the Czars! Down with warmongers and priests!" There seems to be a sort of fatalism that they cannot escape. Their task is less simple than that of the traditional voyagers between Scylla and Charybdis, who might, perchance, have kept "the middle way and escaped." But the dice with which the oppressors play are loaded against them. They are "in blood steeped so far" that did they "wade no more, returning were as tedious as to go o'er."

Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition in the British House of Commons, says that the present war is due to Napoleonism, but thank God there is no Napoleon. He surely has not heard of Carpentier, the Napoleon of France.

Georges Carpentier recently got £3000 for 20 minutes' work, and Gunboat Smith got £2000. There is a fortune for any white man who can crack Jack Johnson's nut with his fists. Doctors reckon a man would have to use a sledge-hammer to injure the negro's skull.

According to a recent estimate there are nineteen millions of fighting men in Europe, and Canada and Australia are hurrying to send more there. Blessed are the piecemakers.

Jack Johnson has been offered £4000 to fight Carpentier. If the Frenchman wins he expects to be offered the French throne.

It is a toss up which is the greatest idol in Britain, King George or Bombadier Wells. The war has sent King George's stock up, and bull-throated members of the wealthy classes are singing "gorsave," but Wells was carried shoulder high when he licked Colin Bell. Only for the war the Bombadier would surely have been knighted or made a peer.

Oh, Where is My Boy Tonight?

Where is my wandering boy tonight?
The boy of his mother's pride?
He's looking for lead with a bee in his hat
And a bayonet by his side.

Chorus:
Oh, where is my boy tonigt?
Oh, where is my boy tonight
He's looking for fun in the mouth of a gun
That's where your boy is tonight.

His heart may be true as it used to be
But his nut is a bit on the skew
So he's off to the front on a bonehead's hunt
With the rest of the murdering crew.

Chorus:
Oh, where is my boy tonight?
Oh, where is my boy tonight?
He's off to the war where the sillyuns are
Looking for fight tonight.

Perhaps he is getting a dose of drill,
From an officer full of swank,
Or maybe some lead has got into his head
And his carcase is cold and dank.

Oh, where is my boy tonight,
Oh, where is my boy tonight,
He lies in the track and will never come back
That's where your boy is tonight.

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Socialism vs. the State.

By EMILE VANDERVELDE.
Member of Belgian Parliament; Chairman, Executive Committee, International Socialist Bureau.

(Continued.)

We have seen in our preceding discussions that there is a tendency to differentiate more and more between the functions of State authority and management. It remains now to show, from the standpoint of the autonomy of the national administration, what will be the consequences of the principle of the separation between that which M. Beernaert called the "State" State and the industrial State, exploiting the mines, the railways or the Post Office.

The first of these consequences is the establishment of a trading account for each of the industrial undertakings of the State. For example, in Switzerland all the establishments exploited by State administration — post, telegraphs, arms and powder factories—have special budgets in addition to the general budget. They pay interest to the Federal Exchequer for the establishment capital placed at their disposal. They pay also a rent for the federal buildings they occupy. Their accounts are based upon analagous private enterprises; but although the paid staffs are distinct from those of the State, they do not constitute undertakings independent of the general federal administration.

ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY.

Another and more radical consequence of the separation of the State as Government from the State as employer is administrative autonomy. We know for instance, that in Germany the fiscal exploitation of the mines of the Saar, and, in the main, the administration of the railways, enjoy, as against the central authority, an autonomy which amounts almost to complete independence.

M. de Lichtervelde, in his interesting work, "The Budget of a Democracy," after having very fully described the organisation of the Swiss Federal Railways, affirms that the departmental heads of the railways and the other authorities can only be regarded as exercising supervisory authority over the general management of the railways.

We find by comparison in the "Bulletin of the Central Industrial Commission of Belgium" (December, 1913) the report of the Belgian Governmental Commission also favourable to the establishment of a national administration of the railways, but with an autonomy much more restricted than that of the Swiss regime.

STATE EMPLOYEES AND TRADE UNIONS.

Finally, the third consequence of the separation between the State as Government and the State as employer is that the workmen and employees of the administrations cannot be considered as Government officials and as agents of authority, and this is of great importance with respect to trade union activity and association.

For a long time, certainly, the middle-class State refused to make this distinction and to concede the right of association and a fortiori the right to strike to all its employees, whether they were officials with some degrees of authority, or simply workmen performing similar tasks to those engaged in private employment.

To-day, however, in democratic countries this distinction is generally admitted; and if in Belgium the Government continues to dispute the right of its employees to engage in trade union activity, this freedom is complete in France, in England, above all, for the Post Office, and in Switzerland throughout all the administrations.

THE GROWTH OF STATE ADMINISTRATION.

The above facts will enable us to keep in mind that the national administrations tend more and more to become moral entities with respect to finance, administration and the conditions of employment of the staffs, and clearly differentiated from the executive authority. According as this evolution is more or less advanced, the arguments usually invoked against the State exploitation of industry have manifestly neither the same bearing nor the same pertinence.

It is impossible, for example, to pronounce the same judgment on the alcohol monopoly in Russia and in Switzerland, or on the exploitation of mines in Germany, carried on in the interests of the revenue, and that of the Swiss Federal Railways, where the entire management is inspired by the general interest.

But satisfactory as the organisation of national administrations may even be under a capitalist regime, is it possible to see a commencement of Socialism in these administrations? Can we maintain that their development will facilitate the transformation of the present methods of production in the Socialist sense?

A Worker Cartoon, Slightly Altered by Zif Dunstan, 115 Goulburn-St., Sydney.

The Worker's Choice.

WILL IT CONDUCE TO THE SOCIALIST STATE.

Let us remember, in this respect, the thesis of Jules Guesde. We saw that in his argument with the Possibilists on the question of public services he held: (1) That the nationalisation of private industries by the middle class State had nothing to do with Socialism; (2) that far from simplifying the expropriationary task of the workers by the possession of a certain amount of public property it presented nothing but dangers to the working class party and its objective; it strengthened the enemy, the middle class, and enfeebled the working class by paralysing its movements.

We agree thoroughly with the first statement. The nationalisation of certain industries and monopolies can present real advantages side by side with real disadvantages. But there is no Socialist who pretends to think, for example, that the State ownership of the German railways, or even of the Swiss railways, constitutes a partial application of Socialist principles.

CAPITALIST CHARACTER NOT LOST UNDER THE STATE.

As Guesde justly observes, "Private industries do not lose their capitalist character by coming into the present State —that is, the character of property from which the working class is excluded."

Let us note, however, that that observation ceases to be strictly exact, inasmuch as the workers, without being masters of political power, undoubtedly exercise their influence over public authorities. Moreover, the question whether the present public services have or have not anything to do with Socialism is mainly of theoretical interest.

It is different with the other question. Will their extension facilitate the transformation of capitalist property into Socialist property, or render it more difficult?

According as the one or the other opinion is adopted, one must support or combat the State ownership of certain industries—the railways, the mines, etc—in the framework of present society.

THE ADVERSARIES OF STATE OWNERSHIP.

The adversaries of all State ownership under capitalism use two principal arguments: on the one hand, the extension of public services strengthens the enemy by curtailing the freedom of the working class; on the other hand, it increases the power of the middle class, because the more individuals the present State employs, the more individuals it attaches and interests in its own preservation. None will dispute that these are very strong arguments against increase of State ownership. They are so strong that in those countries where the State has remained exactly as at the time when Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto, the democratic Socialists remain fiercely hostile to measures such as the nationalisation of the mines or the fiscal monopoly of alcohol and tobacco. But elsewhere, in France, Italy, England, Switzerland and Belgium the Socialists, or the majority of Socialists, are now favourable to the State ownership of certain private industries.

Does this mean that Socialists do not recognise the disadvantages and the dangers that State ownership can present? Not at all! No one will really dispute that if the employees of the State enjoy advantages—in security of employment, for instance—which employees of private concerns do not, these advantages generally result in making the State employees more timid, more tractable in face of authority, and more inclined to look to favour for the amelioration of their conditions instead of to their own strength.

On the other hand, and for the same reasons, their freedom of association, in most countries, is exceptionally limited. Their right of association is bartered away; their right to strike is refused; their military service is enforced, in case of conflict, to compel them to work; all the forces of State authority are brought to bear upon them.

In these circumstances we may well ask ourselves how is it possible for Socialists to continue to demand the extension of State properties.

STATE AND COMPANY EMPLOYEES.

To explain this attitude we must not lose sight of the fact that if State employees are less free and also less independent in bearing than most of the employees engaged in private industry, it is much more on account of the nature of their work and of the services they render than because they are employed by the State instead of a private person.

In France, for instance, where the railway workmen enjoy the same advantages with respect to pension and constancy of employment as the State employees, we do not observe that they assume a more independent attitude Rather the reverse is true.

However, when it is a question of "public services," such as the Telegraph Service or the Railways, the middle class State, even when it is not the employer, has recourse to the same measures against the employees of the companies as it uses against its own employees.

In France, pleading the necessities of the "public safety," M. Briand militarised and requisitioned the staff of both the Northern Railway Company and the Western State Railway without distinction.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES.

With respect to disadvantages, it does not seem, therefore, that there would be any great difference between undertakings of the same nature whether they were exploited by the State or by a big capitalist company. On the other hand —in democratic countries—the State employees have means of action to improve their conditions of employment and existence which the workmen in private employment have not, or not to the same degree. Much more easily than the latter can they obtain by political action a minimum wage, and better conditions of insurance, etc. And if from the workman's standpoint one can say that the advantages and disadvantages of State exploitation as against private exploitation tend to balance each other, it is necessary to bear the following in mind in favour of the State:—

(1) Its advantages to the general interest, at least in some industries;

(2) The very radical transformations, in a separate sense, which can and must be effected between the State as authority and the State as organiser of industry.

Let us suppose that the mines of the Saar remain collective property. The Prussian State ceases to be a class State over which the working classes exercise no influence. Its institutions are democratised. The working class, without being able to assume political authority, yet exerts a growing power over the Government.

(1) Is it not evident that far-reaching reforms could be and would have to be introduced into the organisation of the Administration?

(2) The fiscal character of State exploitation would have to cease except in those cases which by their nature are exploited to enrich the Treasury, such as the alcohol and tobacco monopolies.

(3) The industrial State would have much more than now to possess an organisation apart from the governing State. Centralisation is one of the characteristics of authority; centralisation is one of the necessities of management;

(4) Industrial management would belong no longer to the functionaries delegated by the Government having charge of the paid officials, but to the whole of the employees organised and represented in the councils of the Administration.

WORKING-CLASS ACTION.

Before these radical transformations can be realised, time and labour will most certainly be necessary. But to-day all working-class action, whether political or economic, tends towards this result.

The struggle for universal suffrage and for direct legislation, with the rights of the Initiative and the Referendum, tends to the conquest of public powers by the working class.

The efforts of the Socialists—in countries sufficiently democratic—to preserve and to extend collective properties, to restrict or to take from the financial corporations the monopolies which are used to exploit the great mass of consumers, lead us towards the collective expropriation of the principal means of production and exchange.

Trade union action, not only of the workers engaged with private firms, but also those employed by the State, creates in the very womb of middle-class society the organs of future society, the associations which in time to come will exploit the socialised industries.

Finally, resistance to militarism, the development of international relations between the workers, tend progressively to restrict the functions of the State as Government, while, at the same time, the progress of collectivism multiplies the functions of the industrial State.

THE PASSING OF PRESENT SOCIETY.

Thus, little by little, by an immense addition of efforts individual and collective, the way is being prepared for the passing of the present society into the new regime, which an illustrious precursor, Victor Considerant, has prophesied in his "Social Destiny": "States, thus transformed, become managements, nominated by associations more or less numerous, and invested with the confidence of those who have chosen them. There is no longer an authority having at its orders an army and a police; despotism and usurpation are no longer possible—evils which the nations will always have to fear so long as they are obliged to manufacture arms."

(Conclusion.)

(Translated from "Le Peuple" by F.D.)

—JUSTICE.

The Millions Club of Sydney is taking a week to consider how best to help Britain in the war. Immigration is off, all Britain's surplus workers being wanted as food for cannons. There will hence be nothing doing in the confidence-business of selling poultry farms to immigrants and members of the Club will have nothing to do. Why not send President Arthur Rickards to Germany? He would be no time there before he would grab the country!

Labor Minister Carmichael is in Europe engaging a musical expert at £1250 a year for the new Conservatorium of Music in Sydney. If the war had only been delayed a week or two the Professor would have been here to play for the workers who lost their jobs through the war. And music is so satisfying when a man is hungry.

My Country.

Air: Gorsave.

My country right or wrong,
Where Mammon is so strong,
Of thee I sing.
Land where the millions work
For the rich few who shirk
And honest labor burk,
To thee I cling.

My job enables me
To live in luxury
On tea and toast,
O land of property,
Profits and poverty,
Bosses and wagery
Of thee I boast.

Land of the unemployed,
Who are so overjoyed,
Hunting for jobs.
We draw the color line,
We work in mill and mine,
And on hot-air we dine,
All for the nobs.

Even if the majority of members of the House of Commons were Socialists, the forces of reaction could prevent rapid progress.

—F. JOWETT, M.P.

National Library of Australia http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page12247877

Mug Grows Patriotic.

In Happy Moments.

In happy moments day by day
The wealthy ones the time may pass
While we who work for little pay
Profits for them amass
But O the joys we toilers get
Whatever may befall
We are free to toil when we are let
For dear old Grabitall.

When we have done our daily task
How sweet it is to knock off work
And watch the profit hunters bask
In luxury and shirk.
It is, it is a glorious thought
That memory will recall—
The thought that Labor is a goat
To toil for Grabitall.

Topical Tattle.

Liberalism begins with "L," and ends in "L" (or Hell). Labor begins with "L," and finishes with "R"—which is the beginning of "Right." Don't confuse the good word Labor with that brand supported by our stinking-fish Liblabah members.

"It's an ill war that blows nobody any good"—from armament makers down to sensation-mongering newspaper printers and pious prayer-makers.

It's a strange coincidence, but the first sections of the compulsory forces to be called out in Sydney happened to be the coast defence, which consisted of conscripts from the districts peopled by the working classes—such as Redfern, Waterloo, Glebe, Ultimo, Wooloomooloo, etc.

The Tory Press would have us believe that it is only Socialists and Anarchists who take to "sniping" their fellows off; but what of the Royalists who murdered M. Jaures at Paris? If Anarchists do settle some person now and again, it is almost invariably a social parasite—as, for instance, the Austrian notable lately sent to join his forefathers.

Will war advocates kindly tell us what the German and Austrian swaddies, in particular, are going to get out of the war when all's finished? We opine, if they should win they get nothing except sundry damages, and if they lose they get less than nothing. And this is supposed to be an age when men think!

Principal Harper, anent the war, at a United Church's prayer service: "They knew God would use all this display of passion by the nations for His purpose. They ought to be glad they believed in God; and that even such tremendous calamaties as this war could be made to bring good out of evil." Then if they knew and believed all this, why the hades do these blathering parsons pray for peace?

Perhaps as the result of hardship consequent upon non-employment owing to the war, some of our opponents will join issue with us in denouncing the iniquitous practice of agressive or capitalistic wars.

We are inclined to think that even the "Wild Boar of Berlin" will feel constrained to join the Socialist Party when he is through with this murderous scheme of his.

Even in times of stress like the present there are some noble patriots in this country, who desire to help their fellow beings by advancing the already high prices of commodities. These are the type of gentry who wag a flag on a stick and yell, "Advance Australia Fair." They're very strong on the "advance" part.

While on the subject of patriotism, it is curious to remark that in recent years many Australians have done well and have taken sundry trips to Europe per German steamers. Australian merchants imported their goods—per German steamers. Australian people use the goods—made in Germany. And now, in the name of patriotism, they are trying to smash their, old friend's ships and collar his goods. Patriotism? Rabbits!

F.M.

A.S.P. News & Notes.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Objective.—The social ownership with Democratic control of the means of Production, Distribution and Exchange.
General Secretary: J. W. ROCHE.
Headquarters: 115 Goulburn St., Sydney

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

The Administrative Council will meet at Headquarters on Sat. Aug. 22. All delegates are urged to attend.

J. W. ROCHE.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Despite the press manufactured wave of patriotism (that "last resort of scoundrels") a great increase in interest in our propaganda is being witnessed.

The growing unpopularity of the war is as evident as the knavery of the Labor Party. The other day I listened (for lack of something better to do) to one of these gentry advocating the proclamation at the present time of martial law, which by the way is no law, but simply flat club and bullet rule with complete suspension of all civic freedom.

The clown I listened to wanted martial law so that Parliament could impose a maximum price on articles of food, etc. His puny brain didn't permit him to realise that martial law implies the closing of even the mouth of a Labor oracle, for under martial law acts of Parliament have for their sanction the sword so that heaven-sent Labor legislators are bossed by the swashbucklers, as well as anybody else. Miracles are monopolised by the Pope. Here is a grand opportunity then for that gentleman—produce in Australia a Labor fakir who, not being a knave, is not a downright ass.

A splendid meeting was held in the Domain at which all literature was sold out, and would-be patriots quickly silenced, is the Socialist answer to the "Herald" lie that 20,000 people assembled around the slaughter-blessing followers of Jesus on the previous Sunday. It is runoured that several churches had as many as nine persons present at their special war services, and I am informed by a highly influential and reliable gentleman that divorce proceedings are being instituted by one Priest—I mean clergyman—because a man was seen to enter the church and sit by his (the parson's) wife, there being no-one else to sit with.

Our speakers did splendid work both in the Domain and in Market and Park-Sts., all holding large audiences who were more than sympathetic to our Party. Comrade Rutherford orated in the Hall to a large audience on "Can Socialists support the War," with great success, whilst our old friend Zif depicted the adventures of "William Mug" in his inimitable style. Now you wobblers, when are you going to throw in your lot with us. Your job, is now fifty percent less secure than it was two weeks ago and before long your boss may be bankrupt so you have nothing to fear on that score. Do it Now. Don't forget the dance on Friday evening, come along and enjoy yourself.

Sunday Evening Lectures.
Sunday August 23. Comrade Healy.
Subject: "My Country Right or Wrong."
Luke Jones, Sec.
369 Pitt-St., Sydney.

MELBOURNE BRANCH, A.S.P.

There was another record attendance at our Sunday Yarra Bank meeting addressed by Wilson and Jeffrey. The speeches had the true Anti-Militarist, and Socialist ring and although there was without a doubt a large number of jingoes present the meeting went off well not even a patriot interjecting.

Comrades Hulbert, Lazarus, Spiers, and Miss Mabel Hulbert rendered valuable assistance during the meeting by attending to another important branch of our work. All copies of the paper were sold out during the week and a big supply of Anti-Militarist literature got rid of.

In the evening Comrade Mrs. McDonald, whose lectures are always much appreciated by those mentally alive, spoke to a fairly large-sized audience, her subject being "Our Pagan Teachers." The Saturday dance, the Atheletic Club, and other activities continue to be well attended.

On Wednesday the half-yearly general meeting was held, there was a goodly number of Comrades present, and much important business was transacted. It was decided that the Russian section of our branch hold a Concert and Dance in aid of their Library, on Wed., Sept. 23. English speaking members should assist same as much as possible, as some of our stanchest co-workers belong to the Russian section. It was also decided that in future at all monthly meetings of the branch a twenty minutes address be given on some clause of party principles and policy, for the benefit of new members, and members desirous of understanding more fully our policy generally.

Five new members were enrolled. Now then, you Socialist readers, unattached, get a move on. Join the Party and lend a hand. Railsitting won't bring the Social Revolution.

J. R. WILSON,
Secretary, A.S.P. Hall,
47 Victoria Street,
Melbourne

BRISBANE.

Our latest lecture was most appropiate. "War—Is it necessary?" A. E. Brown the lecturer, dealt with his subject in a way that appealed to the audience. Our Comrade contended that only two ways were open for the ending of war—by the formation of a peace trust trust or by the communalisation of property. A good discussion ensued and many questions were asked.

This week Comrade Slade and wife of Sydney arrived in Brisbane for a holiday we were delighted to see them. Being advocates of the strenuous life? we couldn't allow friend Slade to be wholly unoccupied so his services for the stump were commandeered.

A number of the party visited the Queensland Hot-Air Factory the other day. A Bill to secure supplies of meat for the Imperial Government was before the House. Standing orders were suspended in order to allow the Bill to go through all its stages in one day. During the short discussion we were treated to some delightful expressions of loyalty by our Revolutionary! Laborites. Mr. Ryan the leader although protesting against the Government for not taking his party, or at least himself and deputy leader, into their confidence made it clear that he and his party were prepared to do anything to assist the Imperial Authorities. Mr. Theodore made it known that no member of the Labor Party would place any obstacle in the way of the Bill at this juncture when absolute unanimosity was needed amongst all partiss for the safety of the Empire.

Mr. Adamson roared that there was not a member amongst the Labor Party who would not shed the last drop of blood for the "Empire" to which they all belonged.

Mr. Bowman interjecting, when a Liberal member seemed to doubt the loyality of the Laborites, said "We are as loyal as you. We are as loyal as you." Regarding Mr. Adamson's outburst it was somewhat amusing to see in the "Daily Standard" a report of a speech by Mr. Finlayson, Brisbane's Labor Candidate for the Federal House, in which the speaker said "I agree with Abraham Lincoln. I notice that those men who are loudest in declaring that they will give their last drop of blood for their country, are always careful that they won't risk the first drop." This paragraph appeared in the colum almost directly opposite to the remarks of Mr. Adamson. Gawd save the Kink.

Yours for a Sane Society,
GORDON BROWN.

NEWTOWN.

The above Branch held several successful meetings last week, the Candidate Comrade Mrs. Paul was well listened to. There was only one or two interjectors at the meeting, questions all answered and Papers sold out.

W. J. Page, Sec.

PRESS AND MAINTENANCE FUND

J. Gatha 4s.

OTHER SUBS RECEIVED.

C. Pilcher 1s., M. Brennan 4s.

Up to Sept. 30, volunteer subscription getters are invited to engage in three months' friendly contest, to see who can sell the largest number of sub. cards for the "International Socialist." The contest will close on September 30, and the winner will receive Vol. 1. of Marx's "Capital." A copy of Marx's "Critique of Political Economy" will go to the second; and the third will receive the pick of our Literature Department's 2/- books.

Get into this contest.

War is hell. Let those who want war go to hell.

The present war may bring home to the boneheads the significance of the Socialist message, "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win."

The Labor politician who was going to emancipate the working class of Australia, regardless of the political and economic condition of other countries cuts but a sorry figure during the present war.

Perhaps the Australian working-class will now realise what the Socialists mean in saying that Capitalism can only be overthrown by the united efforts of the working-class of all nations.

It will be to the profit of the international armament trust if every battleship that sails the seven seas under any flag whatever is blown to hell. Battleships were made to be blown up. Let them blow each other up.

Capitalist reformers, philanthropists, and wowsers cry out that this war will set back civilisation a hundred years. Well it won't. It may blow capitalist society to hell and put the human race forward a thousand years.

War merely reveals to all classes the horrors of a social system which in normal times are hidden from a privileged few. The wages system, which makes war and lives upon war, which grows fat upon the waste of human life and human industry, is here all the time, but the comfortably circumstanced may shut their eyes to its horrors. Slums and prostitution, starvation and suicide, the awful toll of life in the factories, these things are present all the time. The butchery of the battlefield merely brings home to the contented ones the true nature of the system.

Where is now the slave who said "Capitalism is good enough for me; the man who is discontented is a fool." We seek for him in vain. The "eternal" system of Capitalism with its roots deep in the "human nature" of the bonehead, is now desperately endeavoring to blow itself off the earth.

DOMINICUS.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

BOOKS IN CLOTH BINDING.

Title.	Price
Ancient Lowly, The, Vol. I, C. Osborne Ward	[illegible]
Ancient Lowly, The, Vol. II, C. Osborne Ward	2 [illegible]
Capital, Vol. I, Karl Marx	[illegible]
Capital, Vol. II, Karl Marx	[illegible]
Capital, Vol. III, Karl Marx	[illegible]
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan	[illegible]
Woman and Socialism, August Bebel	[illegible]
Critique of Political Economy, Karl Marx	[illegible]
Debs (Eugene V.), His Life, Writings, Speeches	[illegible]
Economic Determinism, Lida Parce	[illegible]
Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, Antonio Labriola	[illegible]
Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of Karl Kautsky	[illegible]
Introduction to Sociology, Arthur M. Lewis	[illegible]
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels	[illegible]
Looking Forward, Philip Rappaport	[illegible]
Love's Coming-of-Age, Edward Carpenter	[illegible]
Marxian Economics, Ernest Untermann	[illegible]
Philosophical Essays, Joseph Dietzgen	[illegible]
Positive Outcome of Philosophy, Joseph Dietzgen	[illegible]
Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, M. H. Fitch	[illegible]
Positive School of Criminology, Enrico Ferri	[illegible]
Poverty of Philosophy, The, Karl Marx	[illegible]
Principles of Scientific Socialism, Vail	[illegible]
Socialism and Modern Science, Enrico Ferri	4 [illegible]
Socialism and Philosophy, Antonio Labriola	4 [illegible]
Theoretical System of Karl Marx, Boudin	4 [illegible]
Evolution of Man, The, Wilhelm Boelsche	2 [illegible]
Evolution of Property, The, Paul La Fargue	2 0
Evolution, Social and Organic, Arthur M. Lewis	2 0
Feuerbach, Frederick Engels	2 0
Germs of Mind in Plants, R. H. France	2 0
Life and Death, Dr. E. Teichmann	2 0
Marx, Memoirs of, Wilhelm Liebknecht	2 0
Marx versus Tolstoy, Lewis and Darrow	2 0
Militant Proletariat, The, Austin Lewis	2 0
Origin of the Family, Frederick Engels	2 0
Puritanism, Clarence Meily	2 0
Russian Bastille, The, Simon O. Pollock	2 [illegible]
Sabotage, Emile Pouget	2 [illegible]
Science and Revolution, Ernest Untermann	2 0
Social and Philosophical Studies, Paul Lafargue	2 0

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD — I W W — UNIVERSAL — 1905

Preamble of the Industrial workers of the World.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organisation of the working class without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centreing of the management of industry into fewer and fewer hands make trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST."

A paper for those who dare to think.

An organ for the fearless, intellectual element in this country.

A publication that recognises no boundary line between the workers of different countries.

A paper for grown-up men and women who are free from national and racial prejudices.

The "International Socialist" compels you to think and enables you to make others think.

Try it on your friends for one quarter.

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